

Palestine Perspectives

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KUFR QASIM REMEMBERED

No monument—no flower—no memorial,
No verses—no curtains,
No blood-soaked rag from a shirt
Worn once by our faithful brothers,
No stone with their names inscribed on it.
Nothing at all...such dishonor!

Their ghosts, ever wandering,
Dig up their tombs among the ruins of Kafr Qasim

Samih al-Qasim



Kamal Boullata

Editorial Editorial Editorial

NO FINAL SOLUTIONS

Since Israel invaded Lebanon in 1982 and began to deal with it as a "security zone," Lebanon has become more a tragedy than a country. The death and the destruction and the prevailing level of insecurity have made living in Lebanon a life-threatening situation for everyone, and it has become the greatest affront to human rights in the world today. And the most unfortunate victims of this Lebanese tragedy are the Palestinians who live in its refugee camps.

Armed attacks on Palestinian refugees, Israel from the air and Amal militias on the ground, have become almost a daily occurrence. Their tormentors have exchanged hats repeatedly during the past four years, but the Palestinians continued to pay for that deadly game.

To justify its murderous onslaught on Lebanon in 1982, Israel claimed (among other things) that it was helping the Lebanese state stabilize itself by ridding it of the "Palestinian problem." Leaving aside the sincerity of Israel's uninvited concern for Lebanon, and the way it went about playing the role of the self-appointed exorcist, the fact remains that Lebanon has never been so unhappy as it has been since it fell in the shadow of the Israeli Big Brother.

One does not need to say that the Palestinians are no problem at all for Lebanon...or for any other Arab

country where a large Palestinian minority lives. A large and unhappy foreign minority in any country is a problem. Only in that sense are the Palestinians a problem for Lebanon, for Jordan, for Kuwait, and for other lands of forced exile.

If the Palestinian presence in Lebanon, or anywhere else, is a problem for Israel, it is a problem of its own making. It was Israel which transformed the Palestinians from a nation to a problem, by usurping their homeland and making them stateless in the age of nation states. By complaining about the Palestinians in Lebanon, Israel complains about the inevitable consequences of its own acts.

The Palestinians in Lebanon are not there by choice, and no one says with more conviction than they that they do not belong there. Before the PLO evacuated Beirut, PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat used to say that "Lebanon is a passage and not a destination" for the Palestinians. No Palestinian, inside or outside Lebanon, saw it differently then or sees it differently now.

The meaningful question is not whether or not the Palestinian presence in Lebanon (or anywhere else in exile) is a problem. The question is what is needed to be done about it. Ariel Sharon wanted to occupy Lebanon, load hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees on trucks and dump them in Jordan. Then he wanted to say: "The Palestinians do have a country." But King Hussein protested that "Jordan was not a vacant lot," and the Palestinians protested that they were not Zionists to usurp someone else's homeland. And the Israeli occupation of Lebanon did not work out in the end. But someone has failed to get the message that "final solutions" do not work, and the onslaught on the Palestinian camps in Lebanon continues.

A Palestinian intellectual once said that in the Middle East there is either one state too few or one people too many. Dealing with the Palestinians in Lebanon or anywhere else as a "surplus people," as an expendable people is both a sin and a fantasy. It is the surest way to ensure that the nightmare will go on for all. □



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ISRAEL-SOUTH AFRICA AXIS

[This article is reprinted from *News From Within*, newsletter of the Jerusalem-based Alternative Information Center, volume II, no. 35, of 23 September 1986]:

Prime Minister Shimon Peres' condemnation of apartheid [while] in Cameroon in August marked a shift in Israel's foreign policy. Forthright rejection of the racist policies of the South African Republic has never figured prominently among Israeli foreign policy guidelines. Throughout the past year, Israel has preserved a deafening silence on events in South Africa. However, like so many other policy changes during the past two years of Peres' premiership, the Prime Minister's declarations in Cameroon amount to little more than a public relations ploy. Behind Peres' new verbiage, Israel is continuing its previous policy and the government does not have any intention of changing Israeli-South African relations in a substantial manner.

The truth of the matter is that even members of the Israeli political establishment who are critical of the apartheid regime are not prepared to consider any far-reaching changes in the nature and scope of relations between the two countries. At best, they are in favor of establishing relations with moderate opposition figures as a counter to Israel's special relations with the Pretoria regime.

How could it be otherwise? Perusing the information that has been published on relations between the two countries, the picture that emerges is one which sharply diverges from the placid portrayal many people wish to paint. The nature of these relations extend beyond mere friendly relations to strategic cooperation in a plethora of areas including trade, political coordination and military matters.

Economic Relations

In regard to economic ties between Israel and South Africa, there seems to be a general agreement in the Israeli establishment—which even extends to ostensible opponents of apartheid—that business is business.

The Jerusalem Post reported on July 26 of this year that the Ministry of Finance was about to renew an agreement with South Africa whereby South Africans investing in Israel would be awarded financial benefits. This took place exactly one week after the government decided to cancel the annual meeting conducted between the finance ministers of both countries which have been routine since Prime Minister Vorster visited Israel in April 1976. According to the director-general of the Finance Ministry, the annual meeting was to deal with "increasing investments in Israel by South Africans and the terms of credit Israel would receive for importing coal from South Africa." (*The Jerusalem Post*, 17 June 1986).

An article published in *The Johannesburg Financial Mail* (January 1, 1986) presented the details of the arrangement signed by the two countries whereby the "Israel-South African Industrial and Agricultural Research and Development Program" was established. This agreement paved the way for cooperation in the financing and research of advanced technological projects. A number of projects have been set up or are in the process of being set up in the context of this agreement, including an educational software project, computerized water management systems,



telecommunications projects, pilotless crop-dusting planes and more.

These represent only the latest initiatives in the broad network of economic relations between the two countries which include, among other things, the export of South African coal, diamonds and raw materials to Israel and the export of Israeli technology and textiles to South Africa.

What is even more serious than the breadth of Israeli-South African economic relations is the role Israel serves in circumventing the UN embargo on South Africa.

For many years now, a rumor has been making the rounds that Israel exports more fruit to the European Common Market than it produces. This year, *The Johannesburg Star* (May 14, 1986) confirmed that the Israeli agricultural export company Agrexco had indeed signed a contract to market South African produce in the United States. But that is only the tip of the iceberg; Israel's role in marketing South African products is so well known that last autumn the South African government published a circular to industrialists informing them that the "free trade agreement" which had recently been signed between Israel and the U.S., would allow Israel to serve as a "jumping-off point" for circumventing the boycott of South African goods in the U.S. According to *Business Day*, senior Israeli officials are encouraging South African firms to exploit the free trade agreement to sell their products in the United States.

Hence, the decision of the San Francisco Dock Workers Union to prevent [Israeli] Zim ships from docking because of its suspicion that these ships transport South African goods cannot simply be dismissed as paranoia. Perhaps the most commonly employed ruse for circumventing the boycott is to import South African products to Israel where, after the final stages of their production process is completed, "Made in Israel" labels are affixed to them.

Military Ties

Israeli-South African ties can be divided into three basic categories:

A) Military Trade: According to the international press, Israel sells South Africa a vast amount of military equipment, beginning with Uzi submachine guns and extending to missile boats, war planes and electronic defense systems. According to a report in *The [London] Financial Times* (July 7, 1986), South Africa uses Israeli-made Gavriel missiles against Angolan boats. Moreover, the missile boats from which they are fired were designed by the Israel Aircraft Industries: we're speaking here about Dabur missile boats which are built in South Africa under Israeli license. Since 1976, Israel has sold South Africa eight Reshef missile boats, which use Gavriel missiles.

The new South African jet, the "Cheetah," is also the product of the export of Israeli technology and industrial know-how to Pretoria. *The London Times* reported that the South African-made Cheetah and the Israeli-made Kfir are

(continued on page 3)

AXIS (continued from page 2)

like two peas in a pod. According to *Jane's Defence Weekly* (July 27, 1986), the Cheetah's navigation system was built by "Altah," a subsidiary of the Israel Aircraft Industries, and its weapons system was built by Israel Aircraft Industries itself. The Cheetah's Atar-9 engine also has an Israeli tie-in. According to *The New York Times* (April 28, 1971), Israeli agents stole the plans for the engine from a Swiss company in 1971—and even back then intended to sell the plans to South Africa....

B) Nuclear Cooperation: A report screened three years ago by BBC [British Broadcasting Corporation] television presented a wealth of information on this area of Israeli-South African cooperation, one which is usually obscured by censorship and government obfuscation. According to the report, Israel and South Africa, with the help of West German elements prohibited from producing nuclear arms by a decision taken by the Allies at the end of World War II, have cooperated in the production of nuclear weapons. Israel supplies the technology, South Africa the uranium and most of the funds.

One of the more interesting aspects of Israeli-South African cooperation in this area, according to the BBC report, is that these nuclear missiles are launched by means of a special cannon manufactured by the Israeli arms plant Sultam.

C) Military Cooperation: Aside from the arms trade between the two countries, there is a broad network of military ties between South Africa and Israel. The Angolan government has been claiming for some time now that Israeli advisors are helping South African forces in their war against ANC [African National Congress] bases in its territory.

Likewise, in the areas of intelligence and the "war against terrorism," Israeli experts have been working alongside their South African colleagues. One example of this kind of cooperation was recently reported on in *Israel Foreign Affairs* (March 3, 1986): Since 1982, South Africa has been active in Central America, especially by way of UNITA mercenaries who are armed and trained by Pretoria. According to reports from Washington, South African involvement in Central America broadened in the wake of the broadening of relations between Israel and the Contras and the Guatemalan government.

Political Cooperation

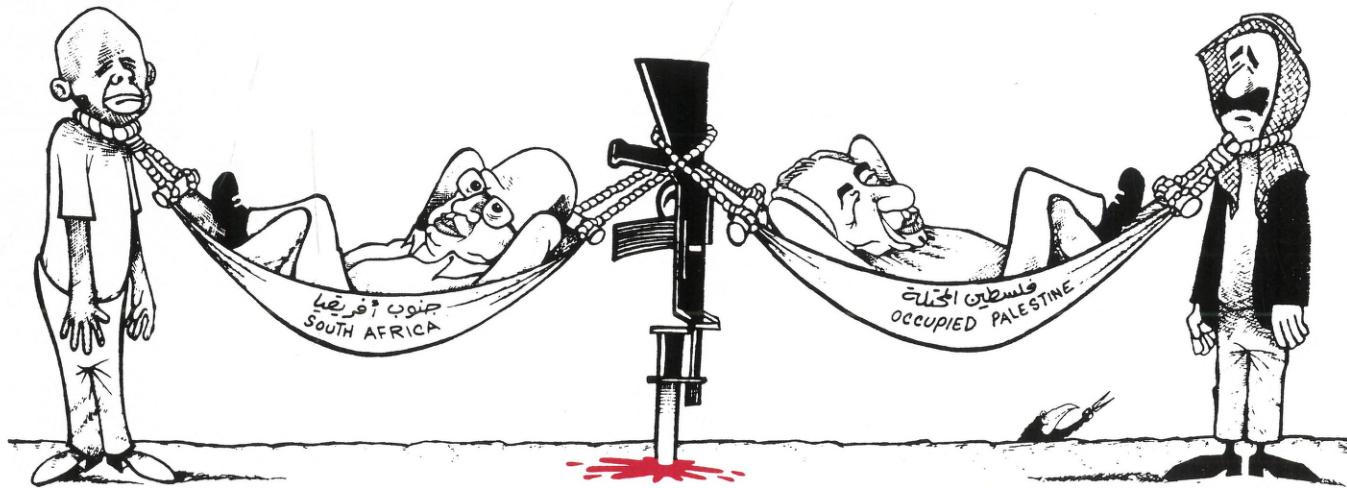
In addition to the financial and military links between the two countries, Israel and South Africa have extensive political ties.

For the last decade, Israel has been acting as a public relations agent for South Africa. The best known example of this is the "Muldergate scandal" which revealed the extent of Israeli cooperation in improving South Africa's international image. Arnon Milchan, an Israeli arms dealer who played a major role in the affair, claimed that the government of Israel served as an advisor and middleman between the South African information minister and public figures and firms in the U.S.

Israel also provides political training and supervision of Black elements ready to collaborate with the apartheid regime. In spite of the fact that throughout the world, Gatsha Buthelezi is known as a cruel despot whose rule over the KwaZulu bantustan is perpetuated solely by the support he receives from the Pretoria government, he was received in Israel this year as a foreign head of state. The agreement concluded during his visit to Israel this year (with Pretoria's blessings) included an arrangement whereby black union activists will be trained by the Histadrut Labor Federation's Afro-Asian Department in Tel Aviv....

The isolation and hostility accorded to Buthelezi and similar figures by the blacks of South Africa impelled Israel to variegate and broaden its training programs for black leaders who are not identified with the apartheid regime. *The Chicago Tribune* reported on March 16, 1986 that twenty black leaders from Soweto who belong to the United Democratic Front, the largest anti-apartheid bloc in South Africa, were invited by the Histadrut's Afro-Asian Institute for an intensive seminar in Tel Aviv. These seminars are financed by the Israeli Treasury and sometimes by the "Center for Policy Options." The invitees are known to belong to the most moderate faction of the UDF, yet all the same, at the last moment they cancelled out of the seminar, wary of involving themselves in Israeli-American projects. In fact, some of them did not hide their interest in not having their names revealed on account of Israel's links with the apartheid regime.

All the above represents but a small fraction of the variegated network of South African-Israeli relations, a network that extends beyond financial links of the type



that many countries the world over have with South Africa. We are talking here of a close set of relations between two countries that feel they share a common destiny.

In exchange for generous financial aid and a plethora of different business relations, Israel provides South Africa with military and political know-how and services for preserving the apartheid regime in the face of growing international criticism and internal resistance.

Hence, it is clear that recent statements of the government of Israel about imposing sanctions or scaling down relations with South Africa are far from being serious. □

OTHERWISE, ISRAEL HAS NO FUTURE

Interview with Matti Peled

[The following are excerpts from a lengthy interview with Mattiyahu Peled, retired Israeli general who has been a member of the Knesset since 1984. Peled is the founder and present chairman of the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace, which advocates that Israel should negotiate with the PLO for the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza. The interview was done by *The Washington Post* in October 1982 but was not published. This text is taken from *Voices for Peace*, the newsletter of the America-Israel Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace, which published the complete interview in a special issue—September 1986—on the occasion of a visit by Peled to the United States in September of this year]:

Q: *You say the Israeli government should sit down and negotiate with the PLO. How can you say that? How can you say they should deal with a terrorist organization?*

A: The name terrorist organization does not frighten me. I know exactly what they are. They are a national movement which seeks the accomplishment or achievement of national goals. I don't see anything wrong in it. I think we...are doing a very bad mistake by not recognizing their national rights, and as long as we refuse to recognize their national rights, they do what all national movements do when they are not recognized, they fight.

Q: *But in turn why don't they recognize the right of Israel to exist?*

A: Well, they have been saying that already since 1974 in very clear terms, but we refuse to listen, because listening to that means that we are prepared to give back the [occupied] territories, which we are not. So we are playing with them the same game we used to play with [Egyptian President Anwar] Sadat when he began to make his peace proposals. We simply didn't listen. Sadat made the first peace proposal in 1971. We refused to listen. Only in 1977, after the impact of the Yom Kippur war, we found there was no other way but to listen to what he proposed. The PLO is much weaker than Egypt; it cannot launch a Yom Kippur war, so we prefer not to listen to what they say. But they say very clearly that they want to establish a national state on the West Bank and Gaza in peace with Israel. This has been the PLO goal for the last seven or five years.

Q: *But on television, in conversations with U.S. congressmen, [PLO] Chairman Yasser Arafat simply won't say "I recognize Israel's right to exist."*

A: Well, there is a difference here. The national goals of the Palestinians are well defined by the various resolutions they have taken in their national council and other circumstances. Now stating "I recognize Israel" is an act



which they think can come if they are assured of reciprocal recognition from Israel, so once they stated we want a Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza, they think they have already stated a goal which Israel should recognize. Specific diplomatic recognition of Israel can come only if they are assured of Israel's recognition of their right of self-determination. Now Israel's position is that we don't care what they state, we don't care what they say, we will never recognize the right of the Palestinian people to have a state of its own, and if there will be any territorial concession it will be to Jordan, not to the Palestinians. Now this is not a way to encourage the other party to come forward. But the Palestinian national goals that say the establishment of a Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza in peace with Israel are resolutions they have taken and repeated many times by now.

Q: *You have dealt with people in the PLO. Are you convinced that the people you met with carry weight within the PLO? We hear that it's a very amorphous kind of organization.*

A: The PLO today is almost an exact replica of the Jewish Agency before the state of Israel was established. I would say it's a free coalition of a number of parties all of which are dedicated to the same national goals, although they have ideological differences. And to me the formation of the PLO is absolutely familiar. I was old enough to know the Jewish Agency, which was composed of various Zionist parties which had differences, but that all the same were united inside this organization, struggling for the same national goals. So at the time, if anyone would have said: "How can we deal with the Jewish Agency, there are so many different parties? And how can you be sure that what is agreed with the leadership would indeed be accepted by the others?" Well, to us this would have been a foolish argument, because we knew we had a leadership which had to be trusted because we supported it. The same applies to the PLO.

Q: *Are you confident that someday your views will come to be implemented?*

A: I'm sure, I'm sure. Otherwise I would have to conclude that Israel has no future. □



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ARAFAT SPEAKS ON MIDEAST PEACE

History Did Not Begin or End With Resolution 242

[The following is a summary of a lengthy interview with PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, published by the Italian newspaper *L'Unita* on 17 October 1986. In the interview, Arafat talks about the peace process, terrorism, and PLO unity]:

Q: *In your view, what are the political and legal bases for an international peace conference on the Middle East?*

A: We have repeatedly declared our firm belief that the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council, which represent international legality, are a suitable framework for dealing with the Palestine question and the Middle East problem as a whole. We agree to resorting to these resolutions to settle the conflict. They can serve to bring about a just and lasting comprehensive settlement.

Q: *The United States, Israel, and some Arab countries see Security Council Resolution 242 as the proper basis for settlement.*

A: Why separate Resolution 242 from all the other resolutions which constitute international legality? There are many resolutions that were adopted by the United Nations before 242 and after it. International legality as a whole cannot be nullified in favor of a resolution that does not enjoy the support of all the parties.

Q: *What is your problem with Resolution 242?*

A: First of all, there is a deliberate U.S.-Israeli attempt to distort international legality by singling out Resolution 242, as if history began and ended with that resolution. This is an attempt to turn the clock back, to erase the Palestinian national identity confirmed through our long struggle.

Also, let me ask this question: Is Israel really complying with Resolution 242? Is the United States really anxious to implement 242 as the basis for a settlement? If that were the case, why did the conflict persist between Israel and the Arab states who have accepted 242 since it was adopted? Why has Israel failed to withdraw from the territories it occupied in 1967?

Third, we in the PLO had no role in that resolution. In spite of that, we have repeatedly stated that we agree to have Resolution 242 be a part of international legality, but

"Anyone who imagines that the peace process in the region can make progress by bypassing the Palestinian national problem and preventing Palestinian participation in negotiations dealing with their fate doesn't have even the ghost of a chance for any movement towards a settlement."

Elazar Granot, MK
Al-Hamishmar (Israel)
24 July 1986

it cannot be an alternative to it. The part should be subject to the whole, but not the other way around. When Resolution 242 is taken alone, separate from other resolutions on the Arab-Israeli conflict, it conflicts with the Palestinian people's right to self-determination; it cancels Palestinian national identity.

Q: *International terrorism has recently swept through Europe, especially France. Certain European circles known for their hostility to the Palestinian cause and the Arabs in general have exploited it to intensify their campaign against you, despite your repeated condemnation of such actions. What is your response to that campaign?*

A: We have publicly stated our position that we do not consider terrorism as a means to regain our homeland and to restore freedom to our land and people. Political, informational and military struggle inside our occupied homeland is the way to struggle for liberation.

Once again we declare that we are opposed to terrorism in all its forms, and particularly we are against the waves of terrorism which occur in Europe now and then. We are opposed to terrorism because we are its victims. One cannot be a victim of terrorism and an instrument of terrorism at the same time.

France is a country which is not hostile to our people and our cause. Indeed, France has a sympathetic position toward our cause. The PLO has good relations with Paris. We harbor only sentiments of goodwill and respect for the friendly people of France. We are grateful for their support of our national rights, and we are greatly distressed by the terrorist acts that occurred in France recently.

Q: *The intra-Palestinian dialogue has made some progress recently with the conclusion of an agreement between Fateh and some other Palestinian organizations. What is your next step for reunifying the PLO?*

A: The Palestinian people are unified on the main issues, such as the right to self-determination and the legitimacy of the PLO. There is a difference, however, between the unity of the people and the unity of the factions within the national movement. The latest public opinion poll showed that 94.7 per cent of our people in the occupied territories consider the PLO their legitimate representative.

We are continuing our democratic dialogue. The agreement signed in Prague a few weeks ago was one of the main positive results of that continuing dialogue. Syrian pressure is preventing the leaders of some of the factions from joining the unity talks, but some of them have resisted such pressures and joined us.

Q: *Do you expect changes in Israeli policy after the transfer of power from Peres to Shamir?*

A: We expect more fascism and violence against our people. The difference between the Alignment and the Likud is only partisan. Our people suffered from violence, wars and massacres under both Zionist parties. The two blocs are two faces of the same Zionist coin. They both represent Zionist ideology which denies the rights of our people and usurped our homeland. □

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ANALYSIS... WHERE ELECTIONS ARE FORBIDDEN

For ten years, the Israeli military government has not permitted municipal elections in the occupied territories. The last time Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza were allowed to choose their mayors and municipal councils was in 1976. Such elections, which by law are supposed to take place every four years, were not permitted in 1980 and 1984. The Israeli occupation authorities not only prohibited the elections of new mayors, they also dismissed and deported most of the last elected mayors. Jewish terrorists attempted to assassinate three of them, severely injuring the mayors of Nablus and Ramallah.

All signs indicate that the Israeli occupation authorities have every intention to prevent elections in 1988. The present scheme, with which the government of Jordan is cooperating, of appointing collaborators as mayors of Palestinian towns and cities is intended to foreclose the issue.

The problem is that Israel, as it denies the Palestinians the freedom of choice, wants the world to believe that the appointment of Arab mayors (to replace Israeli officials who took over the municipalities during the last four years) is a goodwill gesture on the part of "the only democracy in the Middle East," and a giant step on the way to "improve the quality of life" in the occupied territories. In reality, of course, it is a stand against the principle of self-government for the Palestinians, even on the local level. It would be understandable if the Israelis would admit that they oppose elections because elections and military occupation do not mix. But the problem with that, from Israel's point of view, is that it would be the honest thing to do.

The adamant Israeli opposition to municipal elections in the occupied territories is an indirect admission of the legitimacy of the PLO as the freely-chosen representative of the Palestinian people. The Israelis know that the people of the occupied West Bank and Gaza would choose pro-PLO candidates, as they did in 1976, if they had the chance to do so. It would expose the Israeli lie that the people in the occupied territories voice support for the PLO out of fear. After Israel informed the world that it invaded Lebanon in 1982 to free the Palestinians of fear from the PLO, it does not serve Israel's purposes for the world to know that Palestinians—inside and outside the occupied territories—support their national leaders because they agree with them and not because they fear them.

Israel, which has been lording it over Palestinians for many years, knows better than anyone else that the Palestinians have less fear of their leaders than any other people in the Middle East. It knows that PLO legitimacy among the Palestinians does not derive from its power over them, but from the fact that it voices their feelings. Israel does not want the rest of the world to know what it knows. That is why the Palestinians are denied their right to elect their local representatives. □

FROM PALESTINE'S HISTORY

The Muslim-Christian Associations

One of the most important and enduring characteristics of the Palestinian nationalist movements, past and present, is their non-sectarian nature. Unlike many Third World countries which struggled against foreign invasion, Palestinian struggle for national rights avoided degeneration into religious sectarian conflict.

An important reason why Palestine managed to avoid the tragedy of religious fanaticism (although

the Zionist adversary relied heavily on religion), is that Palestine is the only country in the world where Christianity is native and not a foreign import. Unlike other countries in Asia and Africa, where Christianity is often associated with the advent of European colonialism, and where Christians were frequently suspect in the eyes of the nationalist movements, Palestinian Christians never suffered from

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Life Under Occupation

TORTURE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AI REPORT

Amnesty International (AI) has accused the Israeli occupation authorities of systematic ill-treatment and torture of Arab prisoners in Israeli detention centers. The London-based human rights organization issued a statement on 15 September detailing reports of Israeli mistreatment of Arab prisoners and urged the Israeli government to initiate an investigation of the reports and to publish the results of its inquiry.

AI officials charged that Israel had failed to respond to their repeated requests over the past years to allow an independent investigation of documented accounts of torture in Israeli-controlled southern Lebanon and the occupied West Bank and Gaza. This lack of concern on the part of the Israeli government prompted AI to go public with its charges of torture, charges based on the testimonies of several prisoners held at Khiam detention center in southern Lebanon in addition to that of Adnan Mansour Ghanem, a Palestinian resident of the West Bank.

Former detainees at Khiam detention center, in Israeli-occupied southern Lebanon, told Amnesty International staff that they have been hooded, beaten, soaked with water and subjected to electric shock treatment. They also said that they had been hung from a crossbar for extended periods ranging between 3 and 5 hours at a time. The prisoners pointed out that acts of torture were carried out by members of the surrogate "South Lebanon Army" under the direct supervision of "Israelis who asked the questions and gave instructions." The detention facility at Khiam is reported to have 200 Lebanese and Palestinian political detainees at the present time.

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ORDERS TO KILL FARMERS

On the eve of the 1956 tripartite invasion of Egypt by Britain, France and Israel, a unit of Israeli Border Police led by Major Shmuel Melinky was handed orders from the Central Area Command to impose a curfew on Palestinian villages and towns along the border with Jordan in order to facilitate the movement of Israeli forces participating in the Suez invasion. Eight villages were affected, including Kufr Qassem.

On 29 October 1956, Major Melinky was summoned to army headquarters where he was instructed by battalion commander Brigadier Yshishkar Shadmi that the curfew must be strictly enforced and violators should be shot and not arrested. Subsequent Israeli court records quoted Shadmi explaining that "A few dead men are better than the complication of detention."

Major Melinky specifically asked Brigadier Shadmi about the fate of Arab workers who would be returning from work unaware of the curfew. The Israeli commander replied: "I don't want any sentimentality...That's just too bad." Consequently, Melinky handed down the following order to his unit: "No inhabitant shall be allowed to leave his home during the curfew. Anyone leaving his home shall be shot; there will be no arrests."

During the briefing of the Border Police unit, Melinky was asked by a Lt. Frankenthal: "What do we do with the dead?" The major replied: "Take no notice of them...There will not be any wounded." Arich Menches then asked his commander: "What about women and children?" Melinky replied: "No sentimentality. They are to be treated like anyone else, the curfew covers them too." The major gave the same answer concerning Arab workers returning from the fields, unaware of the curfew.

Armed with submachine guns and automatic rifles, the Border

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KUFR QASSEM

New Information About an Old Massacre

Police unit was divided into smaller patrols of 3 or 4 men and posted throughout the area to be secured. Village mukhtars were informed of the curfew at 4:30 p.m., thirty minutes before it was to come into effect. Despite appeals by the mukhtar of Kufr Qassem that most of his fellow villagers were at work far outside the village, making it impossible to inform them of the curfew, no effort was made by the Israeli military authorities to reach the workers or to allow for their safe return to their homes.

In the first hour of the curfew, as innocent villagers headed home from work in the fields, Israeli soldiers gunned down 49 men, women and children in cold blood.

[This brief account of the massacre is taken from Sabri Jiryis, *The Arabs in Israel*.] □

JUST FOLLOWING ORDERS

[The following story, taken from *Al-Fajr* of 24 October 1986, is based on an account from the Israeli Hebrew daily *Ha'ir* of 10 October]:

After 30 years, the perpetrators of the Kufr Qassem massacre came out for the first time openly supporting the killing of 49 Arabs from the village that sits west of Nablus inside the "green line."

The Kufr Qassem massacre was committed by Israeli soldiers when the villagers were coming back from work in their fields on the eve of the Suez War launched by Israel, Britain, and France against Egypt October 29, 1956. The Israelis had imposed a curfew which the villagers didn't know about. The leaders of the Palestinian community inside the "green line" viewed the massacre as part of a plan to terrorize the Arabs into fleeing their villages, making use of the atmosphere of the Suez war to minimize attention.

Ha'ir, a Tel Aviv Hebrew daily, interviewed eight members of the

borderguard unit October 10 [1986] who were convicted of committing one of the largest massacres against Palestinians within the 1948 borders of Israel. They and relatives who were also interviewed disclosed incriminating information about the relationship between the perpetrators and Israeli officials.

The most surprising aspect the interviews reveal is that the soldiers have no feeling of regret about what they did. They claim that they carried out orders "which came from above and which they believe should be followed." The interviewees disclosed that the orders for the killings came from the most senior circles in the Zionist establishment, including the then Security [Defense] Minister David Ben Gurion.

The central interview was with one of the most zealous members of the unit, Shalom Ofer. According to the paper, Ofer was convicted of 41 of the killings and is responsible for "the most cruel implementation of the orders." He told the paper, "We were like the Germans. They stopped the trucks, forced the Jews to step out, then shot them. Here there is no difference. We carried out an order like a German soldier did when he received orders to massacre the Jews."

Ofer described himself by saying, "I am without feeling. I don't regret anything. I had been involved in worse things. Since I was 15 years old I have been used to walking on bodies."

He told the paper that the orders came from his superiors, but that he and others signed a document to keep the matter a secret or face a 15-year imprisonment. He also revealed that weeks passed without being asked or reprimanded by anybody, "until Tawfiq Tubi, communist member of Knesset, raised the issue."

The paper disclosed that the officer of the unit, Shmuel Melinky, who died eight years ago, was appointed by Ben Gurion as security officer for the Dimona nuclear reactor until 1964.

The sister of another member of the unit told *Ha'ir* that her brother was highly respected by Ben Gurion and Menachem Begin because of the massacre. □

JOURNALIST ARRESTED

Deportation Threatened

Israeli soldiers invaded the home of a Palestinian journalist and arrested him at dawn on 3 November. He is now threatened with expulsion from the country.

The journalist, Akram Haniyyeh, who lives in Ramallah in the occupied West Bank, is the editor of *al-Shaab* newspaper, as well as the president of the Arab Journalists Association in the occupied territories.

The Association of Palestinian journalists in the occupied territories stated that repression of Palestinian journalism by the Israeli occupation authorities will not deter the journalists from continuing to stand up for Palestinian national rights and support for the Palestine Liberation Organization. It called on legal and human rights groups throughout the world to protest this Israeli repression and to work for the freedom of Mr. Haniyyeh.

In a statement distributed to the media in the United States, the Chicago-based human rights organization Palestine Human Rights Campaign said that the Israeli authorities had no evidence and used no process of law to substantiate the charge of membership in an illegal organization made against the Palestinian journalist.

The New York-based Committee to Protect Journalists said in a statement dated 5 November that some observers believe that the recent closure of the Palestinian publications *al-Mithaq* and *al-Ahd*, and the present action against Haniyyeh "are part of an effort to silence opposition to the occupation and to recent Jordanian-Israeli initiatives toward unofficial power-sharing on the West Bank. It cited a Jerusalem Post editorial saying that the expulsion order against the Palestinian journalist "appears to be based more on political activism than on any link to acts of violence." Barbara Koepel, the Executive Editor of the Committee to Protect Journalists cabled Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir protesting the actions against Haniyyeh. "He was targeted for outspoken journalism and politics," the cable said. □

PALESTINE HISTORY

(continued from page 8)

that stigma, and they have always been in the forefront of Palestinian struggle for Arab rights.

It was not a coincidence, therefore, that the first organized expression of Palestinian nationalism which emerged after World War I to confront British occupation and Zionist colonization, took the form of organizations called the Muslim-Christian Associations.

These associations began to form in the middle of the year 1918 to defend Palestinian rights threatened by Zionist immigration and colonization under British protection. The first of these associations was established in Jerusalem, Palestine's capital, in 1918. Other Palestinian cities followed, with Muslim-Christian Associations founded in Jaffa, Gaza, Nablus, Haifa, Tiberias, Safad, and other cities and towns until they blanketed the country.

The purpose of the associations was to organize and unify Palestinian efforts to achieve independence for Palestine. They articulated Palestinian public opinion through peaceful demonstrations and petitions to British officials who ruled the country at that time.

In 1919, the Jerusalem association called for coordination among the associations throughout the country and held a national assem-

bly in Jerusalem, to which all of the associations sent delegates. That assembly became known as the First Palestine Arab Congress, which convened in Jerusalem on 27 January 1919. Its main function was to develop a unified Palestinian position to be conveyed to the Allied Peace Conference in Paris, which was scheduled to meet that year to agree on a new world order after the war.

The Congress resolved to reject the Balfour Declaration and British policy to Judaize Palestine, affirmed the right of the Palestinians to self-government and their opposition to Zionist colonization. The Congress also conveyed these views to the King-Crane Commission which was sent to the region in 1919 by President Woodrow Wilson to ascertain the wishes of the people in Palestine and neighboring countries.

This first Congress was followed by a series of Palestinian Arab Congresses in the 1920s, which became the Palestinian people's instruments for the expression of Palestinian national sentiments.

The Muslim-Christian Associations and Palestine Arab Congresses which they organized were superceded in the 1930s by the rise of political parties which coalesced in 1936 in the Arab Higher Committee to lead the Palestinian revolt of 1936-1939. □

Suggested Readings

On the history of Palestine during the crucial 30-year period of British rule, when Zionist colonization took roots in the country, we recommend the following books:

- W. F. Abboushi, *The Unmaking of Palestine* (England: Middle East & North African Studies Press, 1985).
- Sarah Graham-Brown, *Palestinians and Their Society, 1880-1946: A Photographic Essay* (London: Quartet Books, 1980).
- Robert John and Sami Hadawi, *The Palestine Diary*, 2 volumes (New York: New World Press, 1970).
- Walid Khalidi, *Before Their Diaspora: A Photographic History of the Palestinians, 1876-1948* (Washington: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1984).
- Ann Mosely Lesch, *Arab Politics in Palestine, 1917-1939: The Frustration of a Nationalist Movement* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979).
- William B. Quandt, Fuad Jabber, and Ann Mosely Lesch, *The Politics of Palestinian Nationalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).

Life Under Occupation

FILMS ON PALESTINE

The Palestine Research and Educational Center frequently receives inquiries about the availability of films on the Palestinians. The following is a list of such films, and the names and addresses of their distributors:

Cinema Six Productions
P. O. Box 7354
Silver Spring, MD 20907

OCCUPIED PALESTINE

Icarus Films
200 Park Avenue South
Suite 1319
New York, NY 10003

GAZA GHETTO
ON OUR LAND
THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR
THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE DO HAVE RIGHTS
WOMEN UNDER SIEGE

University of Illinois
Film Center
1325 S. Oak Street
Champaign, IL 61820

or

UNRWA
Room 937
United Nations Headquarters
New York, NY 10017

BORN HOMELESS
CARING
HEADSTART FOR OMAR
LEBANON 82
LONG JOURNEY
SHELTER SOME OF THE PALESTINIANS
THE PALESTINIANS OF 83
WHAT SORT OF LIFE?

Visnews International
630 5th Avenue, 22nd Fl.
New York, NY 10111
THE DISINHERITED

AI (continued from page 6)

According to an Amnesty International document dated 21 August 1986, detainees at Khiam "are subjected to no judicial process of any kind; they have no right to see a lawyer, they are not formally charged, they are not brought before any court, and they have no right to appeal against their arrest or against the accusations made against them." Most detainees at Khiam are subjected to incommunicado detention whereby visits by family members and Red Cross officials are not permitted.

AI also circulated a detailed account of allegations of ill-treatment and torture in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza, made by Adnan Mansour Ghanem, 41, who was arrested on 22 December 1985 on suspicion of membership in the Palestine Liberation Organization. Ghanem, who had spent more than 17 years in Israeli prisons, was deported to Jordan last February without charge or trial.

Ghanem told Amnesty International personnel that "during interrogation he was subjected to prolonged periods of enforced standing while hooded and handcuffed; that he was deprived of sleep, subjected to strangulations and lengthy cold showers and beaten all over his body." He testified that he was beaten as a punishment for having complained about his ill-treatment during interrogation. He was also denied the services of an attorney for 35 days and family visits for six weeks after his arrest.

The statement issued by the human rights organization indicated that the Ghanem case is "typical of a steady flow of allegations of torture and ill-treatment by Palestinian prisoners." AI also expressed concern that "the safeguards which exist in the Occupied Territories for protecting security suspects from ill-treatment and tor-

ture during interrogation appear to have failed to protect Adnan Mansour."

1986 AI Report

The widespread nature of the charges of abuse and torture in Israeli prisons is further demonstrated in the newly released Amnesty International Report, 1986. The annual report, which covers the year 1985, expressed AI's concern about Israel's "imprisonment of prisoners of conscience; the increased use of administrative measures, with no judicial involvement, to restrict individuals without charge or trial; and the denial of internationally accepted rights to prisoners captured by the Israeli Defence Forces (IDF) in south Lebanon."

According to the new report, AI investigated the cases of 11 people convicted by Israeli courts for membership in the Palestine Liberation Organization. The human rights group disagrees with Israel over such charges since PLO membership "does not prove that an individual member has advocated violence." The Israelis consider mere membership a crime.

The Amnesty report also criticizes Israel's decision to reimpose administrative detention, an arbitrary measure to imprison people without charge or trial. By the end of 1985, Amnesty International had accumulated data on 126 Palestinians who have been administratively detained since July 1985. The victims included students, journalists, trade unionists, and human rights activists.

In its report on Israeli violations of human rights in the occupied territories, the international organization reveals that many complaints have been received from Palestinians who have been "ill-treated during interrogation by the military and the police in the West Bank and Gaza, including the routine use of hooding, enforced standing, beatings, sleep deprivation, threats and insults."

The new Amnesty International report is available from: Amnesty International USA, National Office, Publications Department, 322 Eighth Avenue, New York, NY 10001. □



COMMENTARY... THE PRIVILEGED SPIES

During the past two years, there have been numerous exposures of Israeli activities in this country relating to espionage and the theft of military technology. There have also been cases of espionage by other countries. But, if our memory serves us correctly, everybody's spies have been prosecuted and punished...except Israel's.

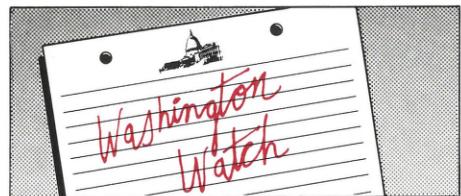
It may be true what some people say: that spying is an integral part of contemporary international relations, that it is just one of the many instruments of foreign policy, and that every country spies...on friend and foe alike. But it is also true that, by universal consensus, spies get punished when they are caught. Then why do Israel's spies enjoy a singular immunity?

Is it a part of the "special relationship" between Israel and the United States? If it is, then the special relationship ought to be reexamined. Spying threatens national security, and no foreign country is entitled to such a privilege.

There is another side to this special relationship coin. Israel's agents in this country have also enjoyed immunity for their crimes against the Arab-American community. Arab-Americans have been threatened and murdered, and their property has been bombed and arsoned. Again, no one has been punished for such crimes. Apparently, denying Arab-Americans equal protection of the law is another aspect of the special relationship.

When Jerry Whitworth was being tried for spying for the Soviet Union a few months ago, his attorney tried to get him off the hook by pleading that his client thought that he was spying for Israel. Whitworth was convicted because the prosecution managed to convince the jury that the defendant knew that he was spying for the Soviet Union. Does this mean that if Whitworth had been spying for Israel he would have gotten away with it? Judging by the way Israel's spies have been handled so far, it is possible.

Today's politicians need to read George Washington's Farewell Address, especially the part on the pitfalls of special relationships. They owe it to the national interest. □



SPY HAVEN

Three months after his May 1985 indictment by a federal grand jury on charges of smuggling to Israel more than 800 Krytrons (electronic timing devices which can be used to trigger nuclear explosions), Richard K. Smyth left his waterfront home in Huntington Beach and disappeared. A year and a half later, Smyth remains a fugitive even though he has been reported hiding in Israel.

On 31 October 1986, Charles R. Babcock of *The Washington Post* exposed the elaborate front built by Smyth to effect the illegal transfer of U.S. military technology to Israel, in another episode of Israeli espionage in the United States.

This time, the cover was Milco International, a California-based company specializing in developing aerospace software for U.S. military and space programs. In reality, Milco was a front established to smuggle to Israel all kinds of equipment and products with military application. According to company records, as much as 80 percent of its business was done with Israel.

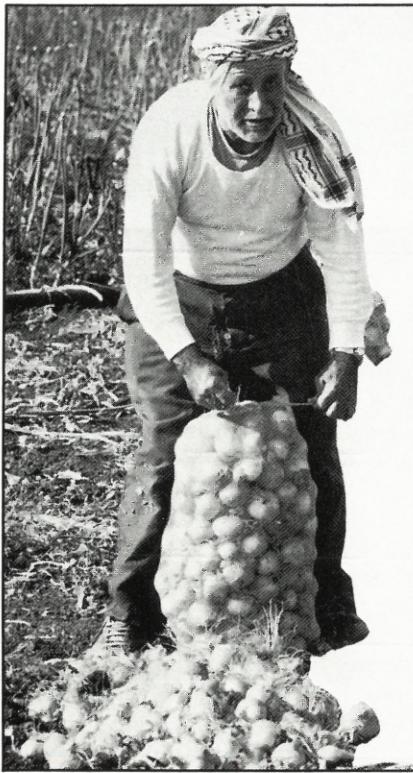
In addition to smuggling the Krytrons, Smyth used Milco to secure for Israel a uranium byproduct known as "green salt" which could be processed into weapons grade uranium. Smyth also furnished the Israelis with a butyl compound used to bind explosive powder into solid rocket fuel for their Jericho missile. Milco similarly served as a conduit for the Israelis to acquire such products as chemical propellants, thermal batteries, gyroscopes, depleted uranium bars, lasers, training simulators, voice scramblers and sophisticated radio equipment.

The Washington Post article traced Smyth's association with Israel back to the early 1970s when he was employed by North American Rockwell, which sent Smyth to set up a subsidiary in Israel where the

(continued on page 12)



"SURE, YOU CAN TAKE HER FOR A TEST FLIGHT OVER BAGHDAD...BUT FIRST LET ME REMOVE THOSE STARS OF DAVID."



Books...

PALESTINIAN LIVES

After the Last Sky: Palestinian Lives. By Edward W. Said, with photographs by Jean Mohr (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986). 174 pages. \$14.95.

Professor Edward Said, collaborating with the Swiss photographer Jean Mohr, has produced one of the few books which generate more light than heat in the vast and growing literature on the Palestinians. Photograph and text are skillfully woven together, choreographed, one is tempted to say, to produce a penetrating narrative of contemporary Palestinian life.

Professor Said is not an outsider reading the Palestinian story from a set of photographs. Instead, the photographs evoke images, release memories, trigger thoughts and impressions, and serve as points of

departure for knowledge available only to a mature scholar and participant in the story being told. The result is an account that is both illuminating and profoundly moving.

The author, himself a Palestinian who has experienced much of the story he tells, correctly observes in the introduction to the book that much has been written about the Palestinians. "Yet, for all the writing about them, Palestinians remain virtually unknown. Especially in the West, particularly in the United States, Palestinians are not so much a people as a pretext for a call to arms." *After the Last Sky* takes the reader beyond the pretext, to where the Palestinians are...behind the silhouette which is often mistaken for the human.

From Palestinian Lives

"How rich our mutability, how easily we change (and are changed) from one thing to another, how unstable our place—and all because of the missing foundation of our existence, the lost ground of our origin, the broken link with our land and our past."

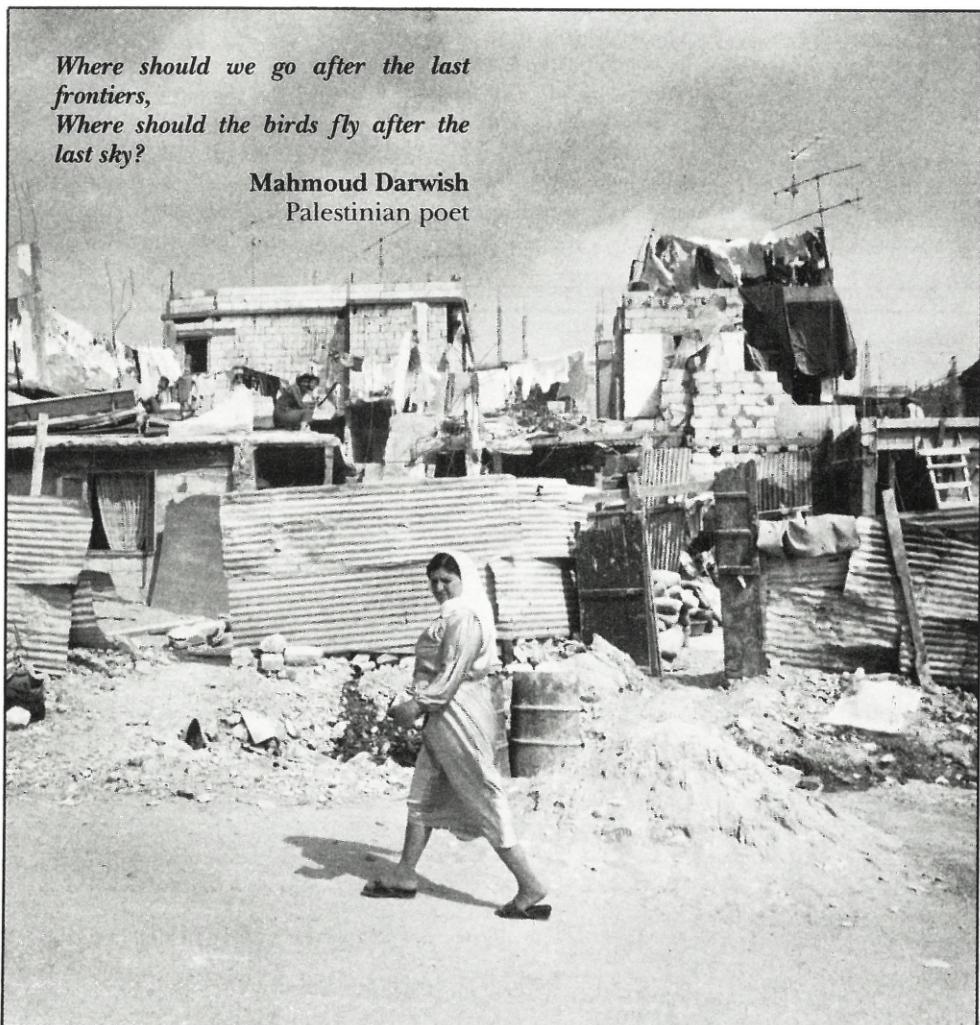
"Each Palestinian structure presents itself as a potential ruin. The theme of the formerly proud family house (village, city, camp) now wrecked, left behind, or owned by someone else, turns up everywhere in our literature and cultural heritage."

"Because we are the weak, the largest concessions are demanded of us in advance. Thus the Americans refuse to speak with our representatives because in 1975 Israel and Henry Kissinger inserted a clause in the Sinai II agreement that the United States would not deal with the PLO unless we met conditions designed in effect to eliminate ourselves—a formula breathtaking in its arrogance...."

Edward Said,
After the Last Sky

*Where should we go after the last frontiers,
Where should the birds fly after the last sky?*

Mahmoud Darwish
Palestinian poet



HELP NAZARETH

Last August, the Israeli Minister of Interior issued a travel ban order against the Reverend Riah Abu al-Assal, a Palestinian Christian clergyman from Nazareth [see *Palestine Perspectives*, No. 25, September/October 1986]. One of the consequences of restricting his freedom of movement is that he became unable to continue his fundraising efforts on behalf of his church and its educational programs.

One of the programs affected involves the addition of a floor to a school for 150 children. Other programs include the purchase of teaching equipment, such as computers and typewriters, and the provision of transportation and food for volunteer workers who serve the Nazareth Christ Church.

Palestine Perspectives has been requested to alert people who are interested in helping the church in Nazareth continue with its programs. Donations can be sent to: Christ Church, 960 East Jefferson, Detroit, MI 48207. □

In Brief

WHEN JUSTICE IS NOT BLIND

Israeli Arabs get their homes demolished on the grounds that they were built without permit. A new Technion (Haifa) study showed, however, that seventy per cent of all construction in Israel is illegal, and that "the Jewish sector sins the most by far." But no Jewish buildings are bulldozed.

PRISONERS GASSED

Palestinian political prisoners in Far'a camp were gassed and brutally beaten by their Israeli guards on 17 and 18 of October. The camp now has about 150 Palestinian political prisoners.

SCHOOL ARSONED

The fascist Israeli group known as "Kach" is suspected of vandalizing and burning an Arab elementary school in Akka (Acre). Slogans such as "Kahane to power," and "No place for Arabs in Israel," typical Kach slogans, were found chalked on a blackboard in the school.

THE SDI PIE

Israel's supporters have apparently found a roundabout way to increase U.S. aid to Israel, to circumvent possible limitations on foreign aid imposed by the Gramm-Rudman legislation. Hidden aid to Israel is to be given through the huge Pentagon budget, partly through Israeli participation in Star Wars research.

The Defense Authorization Bill passed by Congress in October of this year designated Israel as "a non-NATO ally" and recommended to the Pentagon that Israel be made eligible for a range of privileges available only to NATO countries. Israel has already secured a \$10 million contract from the Pentagon.

In a recent interview published in the *Washington Jewish Week* (30 October 1986), Maryland Senator-elect Barbara Mikulski, a known supporter of Israel in Congress, complained about the resort to such "backdoor" methods to finance Israel and said that aid to Israel should be "upfront" and not dependent on "esoteric and exotic weapons programs."

It is possible that Senator-elect Mikulski, fearful of future cuts in the Pentagon budget by a Democratic congress, wants a more solid congressional commitment to finance the Jewish state. □



SPY (continued from page 10) company was represented by Arnon Milchan, an Israeli arms dealer and more recently Hollywood film producer. In 1973, Milchan financed Smyth's new company, Milco, named after Milchan.

To serve Israel, Smyth used his high-level contacts with the U.S. defense establishment. Smyth, a computer expert by trade, served on an influential advisory panel on advanced technology with the U.S. Air Force. A month before his indictment, Smyth was the recipient of the Air Force's "meritorious civilian service award." The citation praised his research which "has directly affected programs vital to the Air Force and has significantly enhanced the defense posture of this nation."

Through his personal contacts in the defense establishment and industry, Smyth was privy to all kinds of technological secrets and managed to convince several U.S. companies to sell him restricted products without proper license, assuming that he was buying the products for the American armed forces when he was in fact smuggling them to Israel. □



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ZIONIST MYTH CHALLENGED

[The following letter, from Lord Mayhew, member of the British House of Lords, appeared in *The Sunday Times* (London) on 19 October 1986]:

"How did you come to inform your readers...that 'hostile Arab governments...have sworn at various times to try to destroy Israel and sweep its people into the sea?' This myth was first disseminated by Zionist propaganda in the late 1960s, and has long since been discredited.

In 1973, I made an offer on television and in the House of Commons to pay 5,000 pounds to anyone who could provide documentation for it. A number of eager claimants wrote in, and I would write back explaining that their chosen statement was a misquotation, or mistranslation, or straight invention, as the case might be, but always inviting them, if they disagreed, to take me to court.

Eventually, a young Jewish lawyer did take me to court (Bergson vs. Mayhew 1974, No. 8264). His lawyers sent mine a blood-curdling genocidal statement by Azzam Pasha, a former secretary general of the Arab League. My lawyers replied with the original text in Arabic, showing that the claim was based on a grotesque mistranslation.

At this, my adversaries tried to withdraw, but I refused, and had them declare in open court that after considerable research they had been unable to discover any evidence of any eligible statement by any Arab leader."

ICRC CONDEMS ISRAEL

The president of the International Committee of the Red Cross strongly attacked Israel for its violations of the Fourth Geneva Convention, which deals with the treatment of civilians in time of war. This condemnation of Israel was made by Alexandre Hay in an address to the 25th International Red Cross Conference on 27 October.

Among Israeli violations of international humanitarian law, Hay spoke of collective punishment against Arab communities, including curfews and the destruction of homes. He said that Israeli colonization in the occupied territories violated Articles 27, 47 and 49 of the conventions. He said that last year the Red Cross was aware of the existence of 4,000 political prisoners distributed through 17 prisons, 12 police stations and one military prison.

Hay said that the Red Cross was particularly concerned about "the plight of arrested persons to whom it had no access and that of the civilian population in the areas of southern Lebanon controlled by the Israeli armed forces."

THE WORLD CHANGED ITS OPINION

The Causes of International Support for Palestinian Rights

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, international public opinion began to shift its support from Israel to the Palestinians. Within a few years, an overwhelming consensus emerged in support of Palestinian national rights. That consensus, repeatedly articulated in United Nations resolutions, and bilateral and multilateral international declarations, recognized the following principles pertaining to the Palestine question and the Arab-Israeli conflict:

1) A just resolution of the Palestine question is the key to peace in the Middle East. It is a political issue which transcends the purely humanitarian plight of Palestinian refugees.

2) The Palestinian people are entitled to self-determination, including the establishment of their own independent state in Palestine.

3) The PLO, the representative of the Palestinian people, is entitled to participate on an equal footing with other parties to the conflict in any process for the settlement of that conflict.

4) The Palestinian people are entitled to struggle by all means for the achievement of their national rights, and deserve the support of the international community in their struggle.

As the Palestinians received increasing recognition and support, Israel experienced increasing isolation and condemnation, not only for its denial of Palestinian rights but also for its varied and persistent violations of the human rights of the Palestinians under its military occupation.

Faced with an increasingly unsympathetic world environment, Israel and its supporters sought to belittle the importance of the international consensus and waged a slanderous campaign to discredit the United Nations, the focal point of that consensus. It attributed unworthy motives to the majority of the world's states which voiced support for the Palestinians. The world succumbed to "Arab blackmail," Israel protested. The world sold its soul for "petrodollars."

In fact, the shift in world public opinion began before the oil crisis of 1973/1974 and the consequent steep rise in the price of petroleum. Six years earlier, as a result of the Arab-Israeli war of 1967, many countries had already severed diplomatic relations with Israel and made other expressions of displeasure with Israel's aggression and territorial expansionism. France, for example, imposed an arms embargo against Israel. The claim that the Arabs bribed the world to isolate Israel is a flimsy attempt to hide the fact that the world was fed up with Israel.

Several reasons converged in the late 1960s and early 1970s to change world public opinion on the Arab-Israeli conflict:

1) In the 1960s, the world community had undergone a profound transformation. The decolonization process, which brought independence to a hundred new nations in the two decades after World War II, changed the United Nations from a nearly exclusive European club to a truly universal forum. The new states, themselves recent victims of foreign domination, were by virtue of their experience more capable of understanding Palestinian grievances and of sympathizing with their struggle for self-determination.

2) The 1960s witnessed a universal revulsion against injustice and coercion. Students in particular, from San Francisco to Indonesia, clamored for more equitable and compassionate human relations, internationally and domestically. All oppressed groups, the Palestinians included, benefited from this revolt against the "bullies" of the world.

3) The increasing awareness of the fact that Israel intended to keep the Arab territories it occupied, and that it preferred territorial aggrandizement to peace. By settling its own population in the occupied territories, its expansionist nature became increasingly difficult to conceal.

4) The reemergence of the Palestinian national movement and the resumption of Palestinian struggle for independence helped the world community understand what the struggle was really about. It made it clear that it was the struggle of a disfranchised people against a new form of settler colonialism.

5) Israel established an impressive track record as an antagonist of Third World causes. From Algeria in the fifties to South Africa in the eighties, Israel stood on the wrong side of the struggle for justice and freedom. It became a major ally and principal arms supplier to tyrannical regimes throughout the world.

For all of these reasons, it became increasingly difficult for the world to see Israel—as it had done before—as a little beleaguered state fighting for survival in a hostile environment. Increasing international support for the Palestinians was the inevitable outcome of this awareness.

Palestinian Rights

[From the operative paragraph of General Assembly Resolution 3236 of 22 November 1974, approved by a vote of 89 to 7]:

The General Assembly

1. **Reaffirms** the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in Palestine, including:

(a) The right to self-determination without external interference;

(b) The right to national independence and sovereignty;

2. **Reaffirms** also the inalienable right of the Palestinians to return to their homes and property from which they have been displaced and uprooted, and calls for their return;

3. **Emphasizes** that full respect for and the realization of these inalienable rights of the Palestinian people are indispensable for the solution of the question of Palestine;

4. **Recognizes** that the Palestinian people is a principal party in the establishment of a just and durable peace in the Middle East;

5. **Further recognizes** the right of the Palestinian people to regain its rights by all means in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations;

6. **Appeals** to all States and international organizations to extend their support to the Palestinian people in its struggle to restore its rights, in accordance with the Charter;

7. **Requests** the Secretary-General to establish contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organization on all matters concerning the question of Palestine.

BE AN ENVOY TO THE MIDDLE EAST

The Arab Women's Council Research and Education Fund announces the fifth annual high school essay competition. The prize will be an all-expense paid three week trip to the Middle East in late July, 1987 for three winning students and their sponsoring teachers.

ELIGIBILITY:

Any junior or senior with good academic standing enrolled in any high school in the United States is eligible upon registering and writing an essay entitled: "The Arab-Israeli Conflict—A Solution."

The essay should be ten to twelve double-spaced, typewritten pages on standard 8½ x 11 typing paper including bibliography.

Interested students should have a sponsoring teacher to supervise and guide the research.

Registration deadline: 1/9/87

Entries should be postmarked by: 3/16/87

The winners will be announced in May.

GUIDELINES:

The Middle East is a complex, diverse and vital region of the world. The history of the area and the conflict should be carefully researched. Students should demonstrate knowledge of the history of the area generally, and of the Arab-Israeli conflict particularly. The proposed solution should be feasible, and should take into consideration the needs and aspirations of the peoples of the area. Suggested bibliography available upon request.

ESSAY COMPETITION REGISTRATION FORM

Name _____

Birth Date ____/____/____ Telephone _____

High School _____

Academic Year: Junior Senior Telephone _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Student's Signature _____

The above signed student is in good academic standing and meets the qualifications to enter this essay competition. I will serve as the sponsoring teacher for this student in this essay competition.

Teacher Signature _____

Teacher _____

Address _____

Teacher Phone _____

I learned about the essay competition from _____

Return to: AWC Research and Education Fund
P.O. Box 39181 • Washington, DC 20016

The Arab Women's Council (AWC) Research and Education Fund, a non-profit, tax-exempt corporation, designed to promote international understanding between Arabs and Americans. Write to AWC, P.O. Box 39181, Washington, DC 20016. The AWCREF reserves the right to make any changes without prior notice.

SPECIAL PRIVILEGE

Apparently, there is no limit to Israel's illusion that it is entitled to special privileges. The latest blossoming of this Israeli illusion involves the rights of Israeli criminals who are convicted elsewhere. Here is the story:

William Nakash, alias Rudi Atlan, has been convicted by a French court in absentia for murdering an Arab in Besancon, France, on 20 February 1983. The court sentenced Nakash to life imprisonment. Now, Israel's Justice Minister refuses to honor a French request to extradite Nakash, although Israel's Attorney General ruled that Israel was legally obligated to do so.

Israel, which has always claimed a right to extradite, try and punish anyone accused of a crime against Israelis (even Jews before there was a state of Israel), thinks that foreign jails are not fit for convicted Israeli criminals. It even wants to pass a law to protect such criminals. A Justice Ministry team is drafting a law to enable Israel to violate its own extradition treaties by stipulating that Israelis convicted by foreign courts of crimes in other countries may serve their sentences in Israeli jails.

Nakash, who is celebrated as a hero by many Israelis because he murdered an Arab, can expect special privileges in an Israeli prison ...until he is pardoned. It happened many times before. □

SETTLEMENTS: WHO'S COUNTING

Israel's premier, Yitzhak Shamir, is interested in building and expanding Jewish settlements in the occupied territories, but he is not interested in counting them. In an interview about his policy after he took office from Shimon Peres, he said that his government would seek to build settlements already approved by previous governments. When asked about how many new settlements will be built, he replied: "This is of no importance." When pressed by the interviewer, Benny Morris, who reminded Shamir that the question is not as trivial as he makes it out to be, by telling him

that "there are people who count," Shamir replied: "Let them count."

The interviewer also asked Shamir about the scandal of Israel's secret police (Shin Bet) responsibility for the murder of Palestinian political prisoners, and about recent revelations of Israel's nuclear arsenal. These two subjects, the interviewer reported, "prompted Shamir to bristle and close up like a porcupine." Not surprising in view of the fact that there have been reports that it was Shamir himself who approved the killing of the prisoners. □



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